582 related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even
895 divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (ntobŏ). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the nd'è bòt is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as
● [609] if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements – foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest,
835 783 an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
641 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
833 in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
783 lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

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563 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn
565 (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except
609 as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not
F in the first generations.
56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes.
564 This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or
556 wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the
565 Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to
565 the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the
431 possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The
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423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

423 An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar conclusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

> 1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

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Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

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Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

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Wives are loaned to guests. (837)

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married. [836]

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

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Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

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